

CONTROL AND USAGE OF POWER BY BARADARIS IN KHUSHAB, PUNJAB: INSTITUTION OF CIVIL BUREAUCRACY

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ABSTRACT

The bureaucracy in Pakistan has been a powerful institution of the state in contrast with the other political institutions. In Punjab important positions in this institution has been used as a tool for attainment of the power. The significance of kinship in getting and using the powerful bureaucratic position has raised the status of the social institution of baradari in the domains of power. This paper deals with the question how the positions in civil bureaucracy helped major baradaris in Punjab in grasping power. The case of the bureaucrats belonging to major baradaris in district Khushab has been studied with the help of sources like interviews, books and documents. The finding of the research is that major powerful bureaucrats belonged to major baradaris and they helped their baradari fellows in getting power in other spheres of life.

Keywords: *Control & Usage, Power by Baradaris, Khushab Punjab*

INTRODUCTION

Power in Pakistan has been mostly in the control of major institutions of Pakistan namely army, bureaucracy and judiciary. Within the machinery of state of Pakistan, the army and the bureaucracy as opposed to the political elites in Pakistani civil society have often been combined as co-sharers of the piece of the power. As Khushab has been selected as a case district of Pakistan for this study the links of major political families of this district are the focus of this study. It can be viewed that the bureaucrats from a few major political families rose to high positions in Pakistan. Though their rise to high positions was partially result of family influence, they necessarily supported their siblings for their success in politics. The attainment of high bureaucratic position in Pakistan itself marks the hold of power in Pakistan as bureaucratic institution is major powerful institution. Moreover bureaucratic help to siblings in attaining political success is additional support for the development and strength of baradari culture in the power game of Pakistan. The following study will assess the role of bureaucracy in the attainment and usage of power by major baradaris.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is very limited literature available on *baradari* politics because very little work is done on local micro level district analysis. Thus, there is a major gap with respect to local level studies about the origin and domineering dynamics of *baradaris* and their politics.

In a scholarly study *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*, Tahir Kamran (2008) realizes the feudal structure in the power game of Pakistan saying that feudalism impact the power politics of Pakistan more than either Islam or baradari.¹ According to Ian Talbot (1999), *baradarism* was the main cause of the British to rule over Punjab administrated and successful.² He thinks that this domination of Baraderi through some influential families has later been continued in Pakistan.(Talbot, 2003)³ Gilmartin's (2009) studies, on the other hand, view that the British officials fed into a strongly paternalist British vision of the distinctive character of Punjabis in general as men who valued loyalty and order above all else— and who understood *power*.⁴

Subaltern studies overlook the diversities based on ethnicity, regional affiliations, lingual base, class and caste.⁵ Abid Ghafoor Chaudhry and Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chaudhry (2010) have studied the power structure of a Punjabi village named Sacha Soda. Having explained the term power in the light of the definitions of western scholars they have taken in consideration the concepts of panchayat, *dhara*, *dera* and *dereydari* in great extent. The researchers establish that *Baradari*'s decisions regarding voting in local, provincial and national elections the people used their votes for candidates from their *Baradari* without any consideration political party.⁶

While there is dearth of research work for looking into baradari at local level Mughees Ahmad's (2004) doctoral research work on the "*Faisal Abad Division key Siyasat per Biraderism Kay Asrat*" shows the glimpses of *biraderi* politics at regional level. The district wise dynamics of biraderism in the electoral politics of district Toba Tek Singh. She views the concept of biraderism different from that of the caste system prevailing in Hindu society. She highlights that the biraderi affiliation forces one to vote according to the wishes of other members of the biraderi but she also reveals the antagonism present in the biraderi that prevents whole biraderi to vote for a side.

¹ Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore: South Asia Partnership Pakistan, 2008), 18

² Ian Talbot. *Punjab Ghulami say Azadi Tak*, (Trans) Lahore: Takhliqat, 1999

³ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan A Modern History 1947-1997* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2003)

⁴ David Gilmartin, "The Strange Career of the Rule of Law in Colonial Punjab," *Pakistan Vision*, 10 (2), 3.

⁵ Samina Awan, "Subaltern Studies or Regional History: Explorations in Nationalist Movement with Special Reference to the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, (41-54) Vol.XXVI/2 (2005), 52

⁶ Abid Ghafoor Chaudhry and Hafeez ur Rahman Chaudhry, "Power Brokers in a Punjabi Village: A Case Study of Power Manifestation," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, XXXI, 2, 2010, 92

It is true that in military and civil bureaucracies most of the employees are recruited on merit but top positions are filled on political grounds. Thus those individuals who even do not belong directly to feudal lineage but enjoy the authority and power they could never attain on merit. They become such individuals who believe in supporting their own families and baradaris. (Ahmad, 2014)⁷. The top position holders in the powerful institution of bureaucracy – the power bureaucrats – maneuver to support their respective baradaris in many ways. There is gap in existing literature for study on the question how the powerful bureaucrats make alliance with the powerful politicians through affiliation based on baradari and kinship. The paper is an effort to fill this gap.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The first part of the paper covers the historical position of bureaucracy in Pakistan and Punjab since 1947. Historical method has been adopted to find out the influence and power of the bureaucracy. The primary as well as secondary sources on the progress of bureaucratic institution as well as personalities have been used to establish the fact. Khushab district provides a source of case study for alliance of bureaucracy with politicians in rising the role of baradari for getting power. In the second part of paper record of major bureaucrats in the district Khushab has been assessed. The baradari affiliation of major bureaucrats was highlighted and the assumption of power by major baradaris through the civil officers belonging to those baradaris has been evaluated. The information for this section of the paper was gathered through survey method as the interviews of major political stake holders as well as major retired and serving civil servants were conducted.

Oral history interviewing has been used as a tool of data collection in this study. Observers and participants in a phenomenon are source of useful information for the establishment of oral history. Interview in oral history helps in gathering such data that is not available in written records about processes, people, their decisions and events. As interviews are grounded in memory that is a subjective instrument for recording history, the information of baradari relationship has been gathered from interviews.

Little information about the family connections of bureaucrats with local politicians of district Khushab is available in written and printed sources. While the phenomenon exists and the bureaucrats are connected with major political and powerful baradaris of area. To get primary information the factual evidence could be discovered and recorded through interviews used as a major technique of oral history writing. The insight in the power and baradari linkage has been provided by traditional review of or summaries of subjective interview based oral history. The interview process affords participants an opportunity to

⁷ Rana Eijaz Ahmad, Abida Eijaz and Bushra Hameedur Rahman, "Political institutions, Growth and Development in Pakistan (2008 - 2013)," *Journal of Political Studies*, 21, (1), 2014, 257:269

address historical record of the baradari relationship directly. The interviews clarify what the participants see about baradari relationship as third-person accounts. The participants reveal the baradari affiliations of their sibling power players or of such persons in other baradaris. This approach makes a clearer understanding of bureaucrat's baradari affiliation than it could be inferred from written record of the events or people.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The bureaucrat in Pakistan's political culture remains a powerful person as he has links with army and ruling elite as well as more awareness about the affairs of the state. The bureaucracy itself did not let it subdued for a long period as local government institutions were demolished in the democratic setup following Musharraf. The bureaucrats had very tight clutches over the state machinery and rising to the high positions as bureaucrat is definitely not only a sign of power but is actual assumption of power. Though there is no preference for the kinship in the selection of bureaucrats as a very competitive examination is held for induction of officers in bureaucracy. However corruption and approaches to the members of service commissions as well as the personal bent of the member of commission towards his baradari fellows cannot be completely ruled out. In district Khushab a large number of civil servants who remained on high positions belonged to major baradaris of the district. Kinship becomes a source of alliance between the bureaucracy and politics. Strong baradari affiliation gives chance for easy alliance of bureaucrat, army officer and politician who mutually grasp, hold and continue power in their control.

Tiwana baradari got bureaucratic power through many officers of this baradari. Awan baradari assumed power through many civil officers from this baradari. Baloch baradari also shared the power in the institutions as the Awans got it proportionally more than the Baloch baradari. There are also such cases where a family became a web. Different members of the elite family of a particular baradari got positions in various power centers i.e. bureaucracy, army, judiciary, bar council, local government and legislatures. Their mutual collaboration heightens the power of the family as well as baradari. The powerful position holder in one institution also helped his family kin to get another powerful position in another institution. Thus a family remained in the power through continuity of getting powerful positions in the institutions. The institutional power in the grip of a family through powerful positions helped the families to get political power and sometimes the powerful positions in the institutions became the destiny of the same family due to the political power that the family enjoyed.

DISCUSSIONS

Like army though less than it the higher bureaucracy in Pakistan had been holding enormous power. (Ziring & LaPorte, Jr., 1974: 1087) So long as the army had been

controlling the process of policy-making, the privileged bureaucracy got assured of its status in power circle. The presence of army in the corridors of power remained a guarantee for the share of power for the bureaucracy. Lawrence Ziring opines that whenever the direct or indirect and conscious or subconscious support of army got removed, the higher bureaucracy became unable to protect itself from the combined opposition of politicians, intellectuals and common citizens (Ziring & LaPorte, Jr., 1974: 1087-88). It was in the words of Mohammad Waseem “bureaucratic paternalism” that was central to the British imperial project in the Sub-Continent (Kamran, 2008: 15). At the time of creation of Pakistan the power transferred to the bureaucracy was not a result of any ‘overt coup’ but it was quite imperceptibly transferred. In view of the enormous difficulties the state of Pakistan had to grapple with some institutional changes were made, enabling the bureaucracy to operate independently of the political leadership. The most significant of all such changes was the subordination of the entire bureaucracy under newly created post of the Secretary General (Kamran, 2008: 34).

The authoritarian rule of President Ayub Khan inverted the relationship between army and civil bureaucracy and army assumed greater significance. Nevertheless the politicians remained insignificant in comparison with the civil and the military bureaucracy’s nexus.(Kamran, 2008: 11) Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto also tried hard to clip the wings of bureaucracy whom its many critics called the ‘Sultans of Pakistan’ and ‘the best organized political party in Pakistan’. While announcing the civil service reforms, Bhutto emphatically said “No institution in the country has so lowered the quality of our national life as what is called “Naukarshahi” (Kamran, 2008: 90). Subsequently Bhutto was left with no other option but to rely on bureaucracy particularly during the latter part of his rule.(Kamran, 2008: 92)

Civil Service Reforms of Z. A. Bhutto in 1973 that mixed the CSP cadre into a mobile and hierarchical framework of twenty-two scales weakening elite status of CSPs had reduced the power of bureaucracy. Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, during his regime, strengthened this status quo and let the power of bureaucracy remain diminished. Although during this period the reliance of the military over bureaucracy stopped the declining of the status of bureaucracy yet some steps like the induction of army officers into civil service, movement of officers across cadre and rise in the number of government servants due to free hand in their recruitment weakened the bureaucratic power more. After sudden death of President General Zia-ul-Haq on 18th August 1988, it was Pakistan’s bureaucracy that assumed the power. Power was not altogether unknown to the bureaucracy but now accidentally bureaucrats had to manage the country by filling the breach that had emerged due to sudden crisis. An old bureaucrat, Ghulam Ishaq Khan assumed the power as President of Pakistan. Ishaq had personal record of long service in Pakistan and he was aware of almost all matters

relating to finance and defense, therefore, he was most suitable person at that time to take the control of country. (Ziring, 2003: 207) His friends, colleagues and juniors in the civil services were nonetheless relieved from the falling status of bureaucracy. Again the bureaucracy shared the cake of power during his presidency.

Control over local government has been one feather in the cap of bureaucracy. Notwithstanding loosening of de jure control of bureaucracy over local government during Zia period, the deputy commissioner of the district kept de facto control over local government. Musharraf's devolution process abolished the office of deputy commissioner and reassigned large proportion of its functions to elected local government. The process also made District Coordinating Officer that replaced Deputy Commissioner accountable to elected Nazim that apparently weakened the provincial bureaucracy. This, for a small period, showed the weakness of bureaucracy with respect of local government but de facto control of bureaucrats remained intact. Moreover the weakening of the provincial bureaucracy was limited because the provincial secretariats still retained considerable administrative authority over district bureaucrats. Apparently it looked that devolution process during Musharraf period deprived the bureaucracy of the absolute powers it had been enjoying previously (Kamran, 2008: 191).

Federal Public Service Commission and Provincial Public Commissions arrange for those examinations annually for the selection of gazetted officers (high officers of above grade 17). Unlike army there is no apparent preference for the candidates whose have already kinship in bureaucracy. The officers are selected apparently on the basis of their personal capacities. However the factors of corruption and approaches to the members of provincial and federal Public Service Commissions as well as the personal bent of the member of the commissions towards their baradari fellows cannot be completely ruled out.

Members of political barratries either occupy important positions in Pakistan's federal or Punjab's provincial bureaucracy or have close relations through marriages with families of bureaucrats and police officers. Thus these civil and military officers have a prominent role in electoral success of the members of their barratries. The honesty and impartiality of a number of senior bureaucrats, police and army officers is above board, therefore such officers of political families have been performing their duties creditably, no matter who held the reins of power. Nonetheless the way of their public dealing and contacts with the people have definitely, even though indirectly, benefited the political personalities of their families (Awan, 2012). A very prominent example of the alliance between politics and bureaucracy facilitated by baradari can be found with Captain (R) Tahir Sarfaraz Awan who rose to the position of Secretary Social Welfare Department Punjab. He was the husband of PML-Q MNA and former woman minister Sumera Malik. He is also the

nephew of former minister Malik Naeem Awan, brother of Farhana Afzal, MPA from Punjab, and also the brother-in-law of former MNA Aaila Malik.

Another instance of the alliance between bureaucrats and politicians due to baradari affiliation and on the basis of kinship is that of Mohammad Ali Nekokara, Senior Superintendent Police (SSP). He was the son-in-law of Lt Gen (R) Saleem Malik, brother of Malik Naeem Awan, former MNA from Sargodha. Again one can give example of Retired IG Police Punjab and currently Secretary to President of Pakistan Malik Asif Hayat who was the son of the late senator Mohammad Hayat Khan, who is uncle of Malik Naeem Awan (Awan, 2012). Malik Asif Hayat Awan, son of Brig (R) Mohammad Hayat Kahn Awan, Senator, was one of leading personalities of Awan Baradari who got bureaucratic, military and political power as he was commissioned in army, transferred to civil bureaucracy and his father became a senator. His father was close friend of President Ayub Khan. Likewise he was close to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Then he joined Civil Service of Pakistan and was inducted in Police Service where he rose to the highest office in police and became IG in 2002. Prior to that, he had served as Director General of Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) from 1999-2002, Deputy Inspector General (DIG) Crimes for Government of Punjab, Deputy Inspector General (DIG) of Pakistan Railways Police in Lahore, Deputy Inspector General (DIG) for NWFP Police, Deputy Director and Joint Director of Intelligence Bureau (IB) Islamabad.

During his tenure in Pakistan Police, he was also sent as Counselor at the Pakistan Embassy in Abu Dhabi, UAE. During his appointment as the first SSP of Islamabad, he was able to create the police force for Islamabad. He was promoted to position of Additional Secretary Prime Minister's Secretariat and then as Federal Secretary of the Railways Division. He was retired from the civil service as Federal Secretary for Labour and Manpower Division. After superannuation, he remained re-employed on contract as Secretary to the President of Pakistan Mr. Asif Ali Zardari at the President's Secretariat (Public). On 26 December 2012, he was appointed Chairman Federal Public Service Commission of Pakistan. (Hayat, 2015)

Malik Muhammad Ashraf Awan belongs to village Nara was promoted to the post of DIG and was murdered by his gunman in 1997. His son was commissioned in Pakistan army and was serving Pakistan army as captain. The brother of Malik Ashraf is Muhammad Sher Awan, DSP. One of his sons, Khalid Mahmood Awan is inspector in Punjab police. They have considerable influence and political worth in the area where they reside (Awan, 2014). Asim Tiwana was another member of Tiwana Baradari who was inducted on the powerful positions of the bureaucratic institutions of Pakistan. He remained Director Trade Development Authority Pakistan and the Deputy Secretary Punjab Public Prosecution

Department (Tiwana, 2014). Haq Nawaz Tiwana, belonging from village Hadali, DIG Punjab Police, a founding DG of FSF with Masood Mahmood during Bhutto era. He also established Pakistan Rangers. This bureaucrat of Tiwana family remained too powerful in Pakistan's bureaucracy. He gave benefits to his baradari and got their support as well (Tiwana, 2014)

Malik Khair Muhammad Tiwana, retired deputy commissioner, village Ghous Pur Tiwana. He owned agricultural land in Sargodha and Khushab districts. He belonged to powerful Tiwana baradari and being land owner economic as well as bureaucratic power was combined in his personality. Abdul Majeed Khan Tiwana, (Hadali) started his career as judge of lower courts and was retired as justice Punjab High Court, Rawalpindi Bench. It is important to mention here that Malik Kher Muhammad Tiwana has a vast agriculture land in village 58-NB and Malik Abdul Majeed Khan Tiwana, Justice (R) has also agriculture land in village 34-NB about 6 Km east from village 58-NB (Tiwana, 2014). Awans were not behind in getting bureaucratic power. Maula Bux Awan, CSP belonged to village Dhamak Thal, Awan tribe's headquarter in Thal. He was advocate having degree of LLB. He was class fellow and close friend of Malik Muhammad Waris Kallo (Joyia) MPA and Muhammad Saeed Sagu (Retired Director Planning in the office of DPI Colleges Punjab Lahore). He was dismissed from service due to his political affiliation with PPP. He started practice and contested election for provincial Assembly and lost the election because he was unable to get support of baradari. He registered case in Federal Tribunal and was reinstated and became the registrar of University of Sargodha. Then he served as Director General of Federal Government Housing Employment Society Islamabad. During his whole career he got his baradari fellows recruited in various departments.

Many officers from Awan baradari gave the baradari opportunities for assumption of power. Some of them can be mentioned here. Malik Khuda Bux Awan belonged to village Uchali, Soon Valley. He was also CSP officer. He started his career as ASP, served on various posts in Punjab and KPK. He also served as Director Anti-Corruption Peshawar. He served as IG Azad Kashmir. Malik Nasir Awan, former Medical Superintendent DHQ Khushab, was elder brother of Malik Khuda Bux. Malik Sikandar Hayat Awan, CSP joined police service as ASP in Sindh Province. He belonged to village Uchali. He served as SP Rawalpindi now (Awan, 2014). Malik Akbar Hayat Awan, M.Sc psychology, cousin of Malik Khuda Bux Awan and Malik Nasir Awan. He joined education department and started his career as lecturer on adhoc basis. His service was terminated and he started politics at district level. He was elected as member district council Khushab. Later he was reinstated on the orders of court and again continued his service in education department and presently serves as Assistant Professor at Govt. Post Graduate College Jauharabad. He is good and famous horse rider (Awan, 2014)

Malik Fateh Khan Bandial, former Chief Secretary Punjab, Federal Secretary, belongs to village Bandial. His baradari was Khokhar Bandial. He was cousin of Malik Khaliq Dad Bandial who was elected as MPA. He was also very close relative of Malik Muzaffar Khan Bandial, owner Bandial Bus Transport Service and former member District Council Khushab (Bandial, 2015). Malik Amjad Ali Noon, former district Nazim Sargodha, and Chairman Pakistan State Cement, member Prime Minister Inspection Team. He was son in law of Fateh Khan Bandial. Umar Ata Bandial, rose to the post of Chief Justice Lahore High Court. He was son of Fateh Khan Bandial. Malik Kamran Awan, CSP income tax department, former PA to Speaker National Assembly, Fahmida Mirza. Malik Habib Nawaz Awan, belongs to village Jabbi, was a CSP in Trade and Commerce Department. Malik Zafar Iqbal Awan, belongs to village Jabbi, serving as DPO. Abdul Jabbar Shaheen, village 22 MB, Secretary School education Lahore is from Araen family (Saggu, 2015).

In some cases a family had been changed into a web. Various members of some elite family of a baradari got powerful position in some power centered institutions of the state. Their mutual collaboration increased the power not only of the particular family but also of particular baradari. Kazim Ali Gujjar, Advocate, started his practice as lawyer in Khushab district courts place at Jauharabad. He contested elections of president Bar Council during 1970s. He is famous for his honesty. He joined judiciary as additional session judge in the period of Justice Falak Sher, Chief Justice Lahore High Court. He was appointed as incharge monitoring cell to check the performance of judges in courts of Punjab. Later on he was appointed as judge of High Court at Rawalpindi bench. He also served as Director General Anti-Corruption Punjab in 1997. He served as judge of Punjab election tribunal. He belonged to Nurpur Thal city. His brother Nazim Ali Gujjar rose to the position of manager of United Bank Limited. His uncle Mahboob Ali Gujjar is active in local politics. Mostly as the leaders of Gujjar baradari they support Sardar Shuja Muhammad Khan Baloch, former MNA, MPA and head of Baloch baradari in district Khushab.

Baloch family, though less than other baradaris, also got opportunities for assumption of power through civil officers. Two major instances of Baloch baradari are Brig. Muhammad Javed Iqbal and Muhammad Ikhtlaq Khan. Brigadier Muhammad Javed Iqbal belonged to village Jamali Balochan. He belonged to Baloch tribe. He was able to get powerful position of Director General in NADRA Punjab. He is very popular in the area for his public service and helping people in getting jobs. Again Muhammad Ikhtlaq Khan who was retired as DSP in 2007 was a Baloch.

A large number of civil bureaucrats belonged to the Awan baradari. The proportion of the population can be one factor but one is surprised to see that majority of the bureaucrats

belonged to those few villages which could be called the power centre of the Awan baradari. Mardwal, Panja, Jabbi and Suraki were major villages where major elite families of Awan baradari resided. Malik Sher Afzal Awan from village Mardwal, served as deputy secretary civil secretariat Islamabad. Ata Muhammad Malik, Awan belongs to village Panja, retired as DSP Legal on 13th December 2011. Malik Muhammad Iqbal Awan SP Punjab Patrolling Police belongs to village Jabbi. Malik Farooq Ahmad Awan, belongs to Suraki Soon valley presently serving SP Karachi. Likewise Ghulam Ali, DSP Headquarters, Jauharabad was Awan and belonged to Jabbi (Awan, 2015).

The institutional power of a family got through powerful positions made the families get political power and that family enjoyed the political power because of the powerful status in the state institutions. Malik Mian Muhammad Awan served as commissioner Income Tax Lahore. He was from village Mardwal. His brother MlikRab Nawaz Awan was a famous contractor who later on was elected as the member of district council Khushab. Rab Nawaz was popular in the area and people would regard him as patron. Malik GulbazAwan served as district attorney Sargodha. He was from village Mardwal. His son was elected as Nazim Union Council Mardwal. He has strong baradari hold and was active in politics. Again there is another instance of Malik Ahsan Akhtar Awan from village Khabeki. He was raised to the position of federal secretary to Federal Government. He was son in law of Qazi Mureed Ahmad Awan, former MPA in 1951. One of his brother in law was colonel in the Pakistan Army. Khuda Dad Joiya retired Magistrate belongs to village Aano. His father Muhammad Bux remained a chairman of union council. Joiya baradari is fourth number in population after Baloch, Tiwana and Sagu baradararies in tehsil NurpurThal (Awan, 2014)

If any person held powerful position in one institution, he helped some kin of his family in getting another powerful position in some other institution. In this way a family remained in power circles. In this regard the family of Sher Muhammad Awan from village Hadali can be mentioned. He was retired from police as Deputy Superintendent Police. His elder son Khalid Mahmood Awan took the opportunity to join the police department and is serving as SHO Jaura Kalan. Notwithstanding the son might be capable enough to get the post of SHO the continuity of the power position in a family rose the prestige of the family in the area.

CONCLUSION

In Pakistan the share of power for bureaucracy during the support of army has not been denied by any one. However the powerful position of bureaucrats in Pakistan even without the support of army cannot be altogether ruled out. In the fifties bureaucrats were preponderant with Army acting in a subsidiary role. During Ayub regime the Army-

bureaucracy nexus sustained and politicians were given a rough shod. Bhutto tried to control bureaucratic hegemony but in vain. In the eighties bureaucracy emerged as junior partner in its alliance with army over control of state power. After demise of President Zia-ul-Haq in 1988, Pakistan's bureaucracy assumed the power. Bureaucrats had to manage the country by filling the breach that had emerged due to sudden crisis. After devolution during Musharraf regime too the wings of bureaucracy could not be clipped altogether.

The given data shows the picture that the army officers and bureaucrats from the district Khushab were converged in some families. These in turn were the leading families of very few baradaris. Thus the power that was vested with major institutions of the state of Pakistan came into the control of baradaris. The powerful baradaris not only became powerful through getting the positions in the powerful institutions they also got political power with the help of institutional power positions. Sometimes it too happened that the politically powerful families got the powerful positions in the institutions. This trend ultimately intermingled the baradri affiliation with the power.

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